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Chairman: **Mr. MROZIEWICZ** **(Poland)**

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The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

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GENERAL DEBATE ON ALL DISARMAMENT ITEMS

Mr. N'DIAYE (Mali) (interpretation from French): On behalf of my delegation, I should like to congratulate you, Sir, upon your election to the chairmanship of the First Committee, and to assure you of our complete support. My congratulations also go to the other members of the Bureau. My delegation shares the pain of the family of Ambassador Garcia Robles and offers its sincere condolences to the Government and the people of Mexico.

Today, the rapid evolution of events and of international, political and military relations constitutes a complex phenomenon that is upsetting time-honoured certainties, institutions and models, and obliges us henceforth to use a different approach in reflecting upon and managing the world's affairs.

The Gulf war reminded us once again that it is not a question of wishing to continue to outlaw war, but of changing it. War must no longer be, in the words of Clausewitz, "the continuation of politics by other means"; rather, we must establish political means as an instrument of dialogue.

(Mr. N'Diaye, Mali)

Changing the nature of war obviously entails changing the nature of our mentality, notions and doctrines relating to antagonisms. We must therefore rethink concepts of security, replace deterrence with conflict-prevention and the peaceful settlement of disputes, replace the sacrosanct balance of forces with collective security and, finally, accept general and complete disarmament.

In that connection, my delegation welcomed the unilateral initiatives of Presidents Bush and Gorbachev on reductions in strategic nuclear weapons, and the announcement on reductions in the conventional forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in Europe. But we appeal to the two super-Powers promptly to ratify the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) and conclude an agreement on the elimination of all land-based and sea-based intercontinental ballistic missiles.

Those positive positions will certainly contribute to easing tension in international relations and to building confidence. But we must note that, carried out in the context of the old balance of forces, those reductions leave the basic premises intact and establish arms control rather than general and complete disarmament under effective international control by the United Nations.

While progress has been made, the long-established reflexes of the old militarized world and the lust for power feed serious disagreements on many disarmament issues, and there has been no broad action by major military States to presage genuine, general and complete disarmament. In fact, despite considerable troop reductions in certain countries there has been no real determination to convert arms-production industries to civilian purposes. The military-industrial complex, which is in a better state than ever, tends to be restructured on the basis of a concept of security based on a defensive

(Mr. N'Diaye, Mali)

posture. In that way the production and development of conventional and nuclear weapons continue, along with the attendent proliferation and transfers of weapons of all types.

The proliferation of nuclear weapons remains disturbing, as does the lack of negotiations on certain aspects and underlying causes of the arms race, such as conventional chemical weapons, naval nuclear weapons, nuclear and toxic waste, and the limitation of arms production.

Moreover, the implementation regime of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) remains controversial in terms both of peaceful applications of nuclear technology and of the complete cessation of nuclear testing. On that latter question, the failure of the Fourth Review Conference of Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, held at Geneva from 20 August to 14 September 1991, revealed a lack of political will to conclude a complete nuclear-test-ban treaty.

The best way to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons and strengthen confidence is to halt nuclear testing, which would unquestionably break the vicious circle of credible deterrence and of a continuous qualitative build-up. While increased accuracy makes deterrence more credible, it also causes the most pernicous kind of nuclear-arms race, one that is hard to control because of its miniaturization. No verification or confidence-building measure can work today because the nature and characteristics of weapons are changing so quickly.

(Mr. N'Diaye, Mali)

My delegation therefore calls for a halt to and a complete prohibition of all nuclear testing. We encourage nuclear States to accede to the nuclear non-proliferation Treaty even if they are interested only in peaceful applications. We welcome the accession to the nuclear non-proliferation Treaty of Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and South Africa, and we take note of the announced intention to accede on the part of China and France. We hope South Africa will soon subject all its nuclear installations and materials to safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) so that Africa can soon become a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

With respect to the geographic spread of land-based or sea-based nuclear weapons beyond national territory, it is important to put an end to such deployments, which are dangerous both for transit States and their neighbours. Urgent unilateral, bilateral or regional measures should regulate calls by ships transporting nuclear weapons and the overflight of territory by aircraft carrying such weapons.

Likewise, considerations of international security based on changes in the security system, in the structure of forces and in military doctrines demand the dismantling of foreign military bases on the territory of other States. Linking the maintenance of such bases to the strengthening of confidence-building measures can hamper the adoption of such measures. A thorough study by the Department of Disarmament Affairs of this important aspect of disarmament in connection with the strengthening of confidence-building measures should help lift the taboo on this issue and integrate it into the new context of international relations.

(Mr. N'Diaye, Mali)

International arms transfers constitute an ongoing source of tension and conflict, and have a destabilizing and destructive effect that threatens the very existence of young States and small States. Hence, their limitation or at the very least their control, through the promotion of transparency, could lead to greater restraint in arms-export policies and could reduce the risk of conflict.

In that connection, my delegation highly appreciates the important study of the Secretary-General (A/46/301) on ways and means of promoting transparency in international transfers of conventional arms. Yet the terms of reference of General Assembly resolution 43/75 I of 7 December 1988, which are limited to transparency in international transfers of conventional arms, should be supplemented by studies on transfers of nuclear weapons, the naming of producer and recipient countries, arms production and stockpiling, and ways and means for international control of the production and transfer of arms, and by the adoption of the legal measures necessary to monitor transfers and punish violations of those measures.

The proposal to establish a register of international arms transfers to make such transfers public is an interesting one, and is consistent with my delegation's position on this matter. Such a register, by publicizing arms transfers and promoting transparency, could lead to greater restraint in arms-export policies and create greater confidence.

(Mr. N'Diaye, Mali)

However, the idea of a registry was already put forward in the League of Nations in 1925 in the form of a yearbook. Controversy over the concept and content of the yearbook made it impossible to achieve the hoped-for results and thus failed to prevent the rearmament that was to lead to the Second World War.

If a registry is to exist today, therefore, it must create confidence and be non-discriminatory. If that is to be achieved, a number of areas involving production, stockpiling, transfers, the destination of weapons and so on must all be included. The registry's goal must not be merely transparency for the purpose of restricting arms transfers but must also involve the limitation of arms production itself.

It is essential to deal prudently with the establishment of an international registry of arms transfers by giving careful study to the objectives, the context, the texts and, of course, the pretext for the undertaking.

The registry could be the subject of a special report to be submitted by the Secretary-General at the forty-seventh session, a report that should draw upon the lessons of the first attempt to create such a registry, take due account of the degree of sophistication of new weaponry, and set strict modalities for monitoring the accuracy of the future registry.

At the same time, with a view to achieving effective disarmament aimed not merely at stabilizing the levels of armaments but at their progressive elimination, an international monitoring committee on weapons production and export, under United Nations aegis, could establish annual production quotas on the basis of the specific situations of countries and regions and fix a joint sales policy.

(Mr. N'Diaye, Mali)

International control of weapons production and the establishment of an effective registry will make the illicit arms trade virtually non-operational and strengthen confidence among States. National control mechanisms could supplement the system established at the international level.

In the disarmament aspects of its foreign policy Mali attaches particular importance to the regional dimension of disarmament and to the regional process of strengthening confidence-building measures. In fact, regional disarmament and the control of international arms transfers are today priorities in Western Africa, which is beset by various conflicts and tensions. Instruments for the settlement and management of disputes like the Mediation Committee of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) or the non-aggression and defence assistance accord for the defence of States members of the West African Economic Community (CEAO) and Togo have not so far been sufficiently successful in managing conflicts. The intervention of the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) in the first operation involving mediation and peace-keeping in the States of Western Africa in Liberia needs to be supported by confidence-building measures that can contribute to reducing the risk of escalation.

It is therefore urgent to seek more effective ways of tackling crises, taking account, of course, of special regional requirements and conditions. Here, my delegation would like to congratulate the Department for Disarmament Affairs for its outstanding work and its activities in the many workshops it has organized for military and civilian officials. The creation of high-level workshops with the participation of civilian and military personnel and representatives of arms-producing countries will certainly make it possible to

(Mr. N'Diaye, Mali)

strengthen confidence-building measures among States and to create regional arms-transfer mechanisms through regional disarmament agreements and non-offensive defence policies. Thus, strengthening the operational capability of the Department for Disarmament Affairs at a time when institutions and policies in many countries are being made more democratic will enable us to ensure a better orientation of international public opinion with regard to the disarmament process on both the international and the regional levels.

How paradoxical it is to see an Africa that has no armaments industry and that does not benefit from the so-called trickle-down effects of military technological advances but that none the less suffers from the ravages caused by armaments and devotes to armaments large sums of money that are important to its development. And those who introduce such death-dealing instruments into Africa clearly do not understand the link between disarmament and development.

However, if disarmament is aimed at ensuring peace, it cannot be truly effective unless it takes into account the human dimension of development, which means the right to life, to security and to the protection of the environment.

In this respect the dividends of disarmament can benefit Africa by alleviating the debt produced by arms purchases, by redirecting the human resources now devoted to military industries towards many development-related activities and towards protecting the environment. That alone would enable us to wipe out poverty, ignorance and underdevelopment and avoid political and social destabilization on a global scale.

(Mr. N'Diaye, Mali)

The social and democratic revolution that is sweeping the world today is the indelible sign that a true architecture of peace is being erected. Free peoples no longer want the diktat of weaponry. In the past a little girl burnt by napalm cried out her pain and her hatred of weapons while Yann Palach immolated himself in front of tanks. In the midst of an upheaval in May 1968, an anonymous hand scrawled on a Parisian wall the words: "Run faster, comrade, the old world is after you!"

Today, a free people has made it possible for a tank to serve as rostrum for an unarmed man to proclaim his hymn to freedom so that weapons will for ever cease to be instruments of either domestic or international policy.

We must change war. That is the great challenge facing us. The new opportunities and relations that are emerging should enable us to make a break with the systems of the old world and replace them with institutions and beliefs that will lead to peace, solidarity and fraternity.

Mr. MAMOUND (Afghanistan): I wish to extend to you, Mr. Chairman, the warm congratulations of the Afghan delegation on your unanimous and well-deserved election to guide the work of this important body. Your rich experience and high qualifications in disarmament and security issues give the best assurance of the success of the First Committee's work at the forty-sixth session of the General Assembly. We have full confidence that under your able guidance the work of the First Committee, in which a new spirit of cooperation and understanding has emerged in the spheres of disarmament and security, will be fruitful.

I should like to record my appreciation for the energetic and imaginative work of your predecessor, His Excellency Ambassador Rana of Nepal.

(Mr. Mamound, Afghanistan)

The question of preserving peace and promoting disarmament is deeply rooted in the minds of all peoples of the world. Defending peace and eliminating destructive weapons on all continents is no longer solely a general and collective responsibility. It has become an individual responsibility of all the inhabitants of our planet.

It is obvious that we will succeed in solving none of the world's problems unless we resolve, first and foremost, the problems related to war, peace, disarmament and peaceful cooperation. Therefore, the situations and factors that could lead to the solution of other world problems are dependent on the decisions and measures that are taken and implemented to solve disarmament problems.

(Mr. Mamound, Afghanistan)

There is a universal conclusion that the international climate has improved. The cold-war era is over. International relations are now taking a new course. This new course has brought a new quality to the limitation and reduction of armaments. The Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), which was signed last July, was the culmination of almost a decade's work. Major steps have been taken along the road to disarmament, and important arms limitation treaties have been signed. They have created promising grounds for world disarmament and real and lasting peace. Nevertheless, if they are not coupled with further steps in conformity with the demands of our times they will be covered by clouds of distrust.

While welcoming the recent announcements by President Bush, on 27 September, and by President Gorbachev, on 5 October, on major reductions in their nuclear arsenals and progress in the Soviet-American disarmament negotiations, we believe that similar advances in all aspects of relations between the two great Powers, together with understandings on regional problems and major economic and humanitarian problems, are of great importance. All these factors have brought about favourable conditions for the improvement of the overall international situation and the promotion and expansion of international cooperation, in the interest of all the parties concerned.

The surest security is universal and indivisible security. No country can build for itself an island of security and prosperity in one corner of the globe with a wall of missiles, while the rest of the world burns in the flames of war. We strongly believe that we should not give the notion of security a dual character by dividing the world into nuclear-weapon and non-nuclear-weapon countries.

(Mr. Mamound, Afghanistan)

Afghanistan fully supports all initiatives to establish a comprehensive system of collective security. The core of this system consists of eradicating the nuclear threat and blackmail, eliminating the danger of confrontation between the United States of America and the Soviet Union, bridging the wide gap between the developed and developing countries, ensuring a balance of economic interests among all States, based upon humanitarian values and the accepted norms of international law, and, ultimately, creating mutual confidence.

The United Nations, as an authoritative world organization, is an important place where the serious concerns of mankind over the possibility of the outbreak of yet another war in this era of nuclear arms can be expressed. At the same time, the United Nations has become an important forum for assessing the problems related to war and peace and security at the world level and has, fortunately, made valuable achievements in strengthening understanding concerning these issues.

We believe that in the multilateral sphere of action the progress made has been particularly encouraging. The Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, signed in Paris on 19 November 1990, provides an instrument for establishing a stable and secure balance of conventional armed forces, armaments and equipment in Europe at much lower levels than heretofore. It appears that there is a good possibility of concluding agreements on conventional armed forces in the other parts of the world.

We also believe that no effort should be spared to prevent the stationing of nuclear weapons in outer space. Space should be explored and used only for peaceful purposes, for the benefit of all countries, and to safeguard international peace and security.

(Mr. Mamound, Afghanistan)

The spread of nuclear weapons to non-nuclear-weapon countries is regarded as another main reason for instability in the world. The emergence of the so-called mini nuclear Powers is a grave threat to the peace, security and stability of various regions and of the world, and can have unpredictable consequences. Some nations have such weapons now, and one should not ignore the fact that a number of non-nuclear States are on the threshold of producing nuclear weapons, particularly with the use of plutonium.

The Republic of Afghanistan, as one of the signatories of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, appeals to all the countries of the world to abide by this Treaty. We believe it will become a factor in the peaceful use of nuclear technology in the interest of mankind and against the proliferation of such weapons to other countries.

We should use all means available to achieve disarmament and the creation of nuclear-free zones. My country fully supports endeavours aimed at preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons in Latin America, creating a nuclear-free zone in the Middle East, eradicating nuclear weapons from the European continent and keeping Africa a non-nuclear continent. Efforts to turn the South Pacific and South-East Asia into nuclear-free zones and to create such a zone in the Korean peninsula are of great importance and will result in the establishment of a reliable security system and strengthen the international regime of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

The basis for a global movement, including the developing countries, for the release of economic resources through disarmament is gaining strength. In our present world there is a close interrelationship between disarmament and development.

Major reductions in military expenditure should release considerable funds, which would contribute to solving the serious problems faced by

(Mr. Mamound, Afghanistan)

mankind. Therefore, the theory of armament instead of development should be replaced by the principle of disarmament for development. We support a freeze and reduction of military expenditure, so that the resources thus released can be used for development activities and to strengthen regional and international economic cooperation.

In our view, eliminating chemical and radiological weapons and banning the production and development of new types of weapons of mass destruction are among the basic and serious tasks facing mankind.

In our opinion, one of the necessary conditions for disarmament, as we have stated before, is to build international confidence, particularly between the two major nuclear Powers. Regional confrontations and conflicts have a negative impact on the level of confidence at the world level. We remember the cold war, when every serious effort to conclude agreements on the reduction of combat-preparedness, especially for a nuclear war, was hindered by regional conflicts. The assumption by the nuclear States of commitments related to arms limitation while at the same time they persist in engaging in confrontations in different parts of the world is an impossible situation. Taking this fact into consideration, we should seek ways and means to achieve just and peaceful solutions to those confrontations and conflicts in order to eliminate hotbeds of tension in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The Republic of Afghanistan, as a peace-loving country, has always put forward constructive proposals for maintaining peace and stability in our region, which we believe directly relates to international peace and security. Among them, the Republic of Afghanistan proposed demilitarization of the country. Of course, demilitarization of Afghanistan should be confirmed by an international conference and interested countries, including neighbouring countries.

(Mr. Mamound, Afghanistan)

Afghanistan does not threaten any country, and does not want to be threatened by any country. We wish to live peacefully with our neighbours.

Finally, my delegation would like to express its thanks to and admiration of the United Nations for its outstanding role in the field of disarmament and the expansion of international cooperation to the noble goals of global and universal human problems.

Mr. ORDOÑEZ (Philippines): This is a heady season for long-time dreamers of peace, security and development on our planet. To think that only a year ago the world was transfixed by the unfolding events on the sands of the Middle East. Many of us, already insecure from problems of a non-military nature, feared then that the impending conflict would result in global economic turmoil that would further exacerbate the already sorry plight of developing countries.

At the time, my country was in the midst of recovery efforts from the devastations of cataclysmic earthquakes, the fury of gale-force typhoons and losses from widespread floods in the northern part of the country and privations caused by persistent droughts in the south.

Armed confrontation, especially involving weapons of mass destruction, with the possibility of yet another oil crisis, was certainly a disquieting prospect to contemplate. When the Gulf war ended early this year, the whole world heaved a collective sigh of relief. But through it all, and continuing to this day, other things also took place: the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) signed in Paris in November 1990, the Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT) Amendment Conference in January 1991, the Disarmament Commission's substantive session in April and May, the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) signed in Moscow in July, President Bush's announcement of nuclear-weapons reductions in Europe and Asia in September and the reciprocal declaration by President Gorbachev early this month.

Only last week we noted with considerable interest a news items stating that the United States is withdrawing all nuclear weapons from South Korea.

(Mr. Ordoñez, Philippines)

Such a welcome step certainly encourages us to hope that peace and harmony will finally dawn on the Korean peninsula. At the same time, it will provide us with the opportunity to test whether the policy of transparency can now be put into operation in Asia and the Pacific, particularly in our region of South-East Asia.

In this connection, we cannot but wonder whether the United States is now ready to alter its policy of neither confirming nor denying the presence of nuclear weapons in its facilities in our region. We earnestly hope that this is the case, for it would constitute a decisive confidence-building measure. Such a policy shift would fulfil the hopes of Pacific Rim nations. For the Philippines, it would lend special significance to our efforts to enforce our constitutional mandate of adopting and pursuing

"a policy of freedom from nuclear weapons in its territory",

as contained in article II, section 8 of the Philippine Constitution. For the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), it would lend impetus to our desire to establish a South-East Asia nuclear-weapon-free zone.

In such an environment of transparency, we and the rest of the world could devote more attention to the twin concern of disarmament and security - that is, development. Mr. Ronald F. Lehman II, speaking for the United States in the First Committee a week ago stated:

> "The international community is beginning to understand that concepts of security, if they are to have real meaning, must be broader than the number of weapons in national arsenals. And they must include economic well-being and the general quality of life, human rights and freedoms." (A/C.1/46/PV.4, p. 41)

(Mr. Ordoñez, Philippines)

Earlier this week, the First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Mr. Vladimir Petrovsky stated that:

"disarmament today is not perceived by the world community in purely military and technical terms, but is also seen as a much more complex concept comprising military and political elements along with a wide range of social and economic factors". (A/C.1/46/PV.12, p. 36)

We whole-heartedly agree with their statements. When stated as policy, such concepts reshape world events.

There is a momentum in these developments which, like the opportunity occasioned by a cresting wave, we should ride on to the shores of peace, stability and development. However, the question is: do we have the political will to pursue these positive events to their logical conclusion so that, in the words of the Atlantic Charter:

"all men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want"? (Atlantic Charter, 1941, sixth principle)

Freedom from fear and want: this is our ultimate goal. But we, the have-nots and, therefore, the most insecure and needy ask: How much closer are we to achieving this goal? Judging by the perceptions of other delegations, the answer would seem to be: not much really. My colleague from Indonesia has referred to:

"the sobering reality of how little progress has been made and how marginally we have moved in arms limitation" (A/C.1/46/PV.6, p. 27).

And so while we are encouraged to note that curtains of distrust in some regions are opening wide, that divisive ideological walls are crumbling, that progressive shifts in policy are taking place, we are daunted by the

(Mr. Ordoñez, Philippines)

realization that there is so much more to be done. But my delegation wishes to assure its colleagues that we are firmly committed to contributing our share of the effort.

We are encouraged by the progress of negotiations on a chemical weapons convention in the Conference on Disarmament and we wish to add our voice to those calling for an expeditious and successful conclusion of the convention by 1992.

As a State Party to the 1925 Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, we have given our unequivocal assurance that the Philippines does not, nor does it intend to, manufacture or store such weapons.

However, while we are heartened by the renewed impetus of questions related to universal adherence to the proposed convention - particularly on a hard schedule for the destruction of stockpiles - like many developing countries we are concerned that the question of verification of non-production of such weapons may impose unnecessary burdens on our civilian chemical industry. Still another consideration relates to verification costs.

We wish to reiterate that any verification procedure should have as much broad-based acceptability as possible in order to sustain the necessary confidence it intends to build.

In the same vein, we are encouraged by the successful outcome of last month's Third Review Conference of the Biological Weapons Convention.

The aim of the Third Review Conference to strengthen the Convention's prohibition on the development and use of biological weapons jibes with the assurance given by the Philippines earlier this year that as a State Party

(Mr. Ordoñez, Philippines)

to the Convention, it does not produce bacteriological agents for any other purpose than peaceful uses, and these very limited quantities are for medical research and laboratory application for peaceful purposes.

Doubtless the improvements agreeed upon in the Review Conference, such as on confidence-building measures and the issue of verification, will go a long way to strengthening efforts by States Parties to adhere to the Convention at the national level. At the same time, however, the resource implications of implementing these improvements, albeit modest estimates, deserve our careful consideration.

We note with satisfaction that the universalization of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) is gaining momentum with the recent accession of a number of States. Of no less significance, the announcement by China and France that they will accede to the NPT, has now bestowed upon this important regime a greater moral force among the five permanent members of the Security Council. We consider the Treaty's international safeguard system as the focus of multilateral efforts to build confidence with regard to the horizontal non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

(Mr. Ordoñez, Philippines)

One lesson we can draw from the Gulf war is the need to strengthen the effectiveness of the safeguard activities of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in fulfilling its mandate to monitor and ascertain the nuclear intentions of States.

As a State party to the Treaty, my delegation supports such efforts. At the same time, however, we believe that any strengthening should not be pursued at the expense of the Agency's activities for the promotion of peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Safeguards and promotional activities are the main statutory functions of IAEA, and therefore a balance between the two should be achieved and maintained.

As regards nuclear testing, the Philippines considers a comprehensive treaty banning all tests to be central to the realization of a regime of non-proliferation in both its vertical and its horizontal dimensions. Like most non-nuclear-weapon States, we view with utmost concern the fact that continued testing could create a new generation of nuclear weapons that could go beyond the limits allowed by existing agreements. We consider the arguments for continued testing advanced by some nuclear Powers, such as "reliability", "modernization", and "safety", to be incongruous with the unprecedented nuclear disarmament race between the super-Powers. In joining the call made by our colleagues from Australia and New Zealand last week, we also urge all nuclear-weapon States to reconsider the political, military and environmental costs of their testing programmes. In this context, we applaud the lead taken by Soviet President Gorbachev early this month in announcing a year-long moratorium on nuclear testing.

During the partial test-ban Treaty Amendment Conference in January 1991, the Philippines was one of the sponsors of a draft decision which, subsequently amended, called on the President of the Conference,

(Mr. Ordoñez, Philippines)

Minister Ali Alatas of Indonesia, to conduct consultations on the subject of verification and sanctions on non-compliance, including the resumption of the Conference at an appropriate date. We reiterate that we shall continue to work closely with the President of the Conference towards the fulfilment of his mandate.

As to international arms transfers, we note that the non-aligned countries view this issue as one that should be considered in conjunction with the need for reducing international tensions and enhancing confidence, among other things. In this context, we welcome the timely United Nations study prepared by the group of governmental experts on ways and means of promoting transparency in international transfer of conventional arms. We agree in principle with one of its concrete recommendations: the establishment of a universal and non-discriminatory arms register under the auspices of the United Nations. We consider this register to be an appropriate first step in the dynamic process of confidence-building on military matters.

However, we share the view expressed by many non-aligned and developing countries that the register must be broadened at subsequent stages. Questions of indigenous production and military stockpiling, as well as issues on transfer of sensitive technology and transfer of weapons of mass destruction and their components, have to be seriously considered so as to strengthen confidence further. It is only when these concerns are genuinely addressed that the international community will be comfortable with the idea of achieving security at lower levels of armaments.

The United Nations study also highlighted the problem of the illicit arms trade, an issue that many non-aligned countries, including my own, consider detrimental to the internal security of States. We fully endorse the

(Mr. Ordoñez, Philippines)

different proposals on strengthening national enforcement capabilities. At the same time, we believe that the United Nations has a major role to play in enhancing cooperation in this field at the national, regional and international levels.

During the past several days, a number of delegations expressed their desire further to rationalize the work of the First Committee. My delegation has supported such efforts, both at rationalization and at achieving greater consensus in the Committee. Indeed, the results of previous years' sessions indicate a reduction in the number of resolutions - with greater rates of adoption by consensus. Even now, many sponsors of draft resolutions that are related are endeavouring to merge their texts so as to produce omnibus ones. While we are happy with these developments, we believe, nevertheless, that there is a need in the Committee to adopt an agenda based on the requirements of the new world situation, rather than on a menu of traditional and new topics for deliberation.

Let me conclude by saying that my delegation is gratified to note the upbeat, even optimistic, mood that pervades this session in the wake of many positive developments. But let me also state that many fears and insecurities persist - fears and insecurities that assume more urgency if viewed against an emerging shift from East-West confrontation to more deeply rooted cultural, religious and ethnic conflicts now troubling some of our regions. Even as we work urgently and earnestly to forge the mechanisms of transparency, it is essential that bilateral and multilateral efforts, both formal and informal, be redoubled to strengthen mutual trust and confidence among nations and regions. For transparency alone will not suffice. Transparency must be reinforced by confidence-building measures. And confidence-building measures

(Mr. Ordoñez, Philippines)

must produce effective conventions and regimes borne of cooperation and consensus.

Mr. AMBEYI-LIGABO (Kenya): It gives me pleasure, Sir, to convey warm congratulations to you from the delegation of Kenya on your election as Chairman of the First Committee. In congratulating you and the other officers of the Committee, I wish to seize this opportunity to assure you of the full cooperation and total support of the Kenya delegation.

The First Committee is meeting at a momentous time in the history of mankind. It is appropriate for us to reflect on and re-evaluate collectively the dramatic global changes that have taken place in recent times. These historic changes compel us to realize that, in the words of the Secretary-General,

> "The mist of unreality that has hung over discussions of limiting and reducing the level of arms needs to be blown away." (A/46/1, p. 12)

On this note, Kenya welcomes the signing of the Strategic Arms Reduction (START) Treaty in Moscow last July and the recent encouraging announcements made by President Bush and President Gorbachev on substantial reductions in their countries' nuclear arsenals. This important development, coming as it does in the wake of growing changes in various sensitive regional spots, constitutes a historic contribution to international efforts to achieve general and complete disarmament and a more peaceful and secure world. We hope that this encouraging development will continue and lead to further substantial progress in nuclear disarmament efforts and towards a comprehensive test-ban treaty.

The current East-West rapprochement confirms the inherent fragility and futility of security systems based solely on military factors. It reveals that weapons contribute greatly to the existence and perpetuation of world

(Mr. Ambeyi-Ligabo, Kenya)

security problems. It also reveals that any obsession with military security results in the perpetuation of the arms race, distorts priorities, hampers social and economic progress, constrains political dialogue, affects the institutions of States to their long-term detriment and unnecessarily aggravates the sense of insecurity among all nations.

(Mr. Ambeyi-Ligabo, Kenya)

Peace is not only the absence of war; it is basically the total absence of any threat of war. Kenya firmly believes that security based on the anachronistic "deterrence" theory cannot guarantee world peace. The world has an opportunity now to put fully into effect the system of security as envisioned in the United Nations Charter, on the basis of such legal and political pillars as the non-use of force, the peaceful settlement of disputes, and collective action in the maintenance of international peace and security.

The recent war in the Gulf demonstrates that with the existing devastating nature of armaments in the stocks of both big, small and middle-size Powers, security can neither be fragmented nor viewed in a regional Euro-centric context alone, but should be tackled through a genuine multilateral approach.

While it is fashionable to talk about a new world order, such a new world order cannot be established by a handful of self-appointed countries or by one major Power, however mighty it may be. If a new world order has to be initiated, it is imperative that such initiative, if it is truly genuine, should not only reflect the interests of East-West relations but should also and pertinently reflect the interests and aspirations of third world countries, which make up the majority in this community of nations. Peace and a new world order can be established and guaranteed only through a concerted global programme geared towards the alleviation of human degradation, the socio-political crises in developing countries and the cancellation of debts of poor countries.

Regarding the issue of current concerns of the international community, arms transfers have played a major role in heightening tensions and causing

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destabilization in many sensitive regions of the world, especially in Africa. In line with this, Kenya welcomes the United Nations study on the promotion of transparency in international trade in conventional arms. However, it is Kenya's view that the question of arms transfers and the question whether an arms register is to be established must be addressed comprehensively, and must include all aspects of it, particularly indigenous production for defence, armament stockpiles and delivery systems.

Kenya was pleased with the outcome of the recently concluded Third Review Conference of the Parties to the biological and toxin weapons Convention. The reaffirmation in the Final Declaration that States parties, particularly developed countries, should adopt positive measures to promote technological transfers, including training programmes, to developing countries in the use of biosciences and genetic engineering for peaceful purposes, will go a long way towards creating mutual trust and confidence in the field of compliance and verification.

Kenya is a developing country located in a region engulfed in political turmoil and intractable civil wars. Kenya has no major military plans nor has it any geopolitical interests beyond the defence of its territorial integrity. In the words of our Foreign Minister, Mr. Ndola Ayah, "to those who claim to possess the monopoly of truth and knowledge of what is good for the rest of humanity and what constitutes good governance", we once again put it on record that Kenya's primary interest is to improve the well-being of its people, to build a prosperous and stable society without any political intimidation or politico-democratic prescriptions from without.

However, as is well known and as in the case of all countries, Kenya is also part of an interdependent world, hence concrete measures of confidence

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and trust have to exist among nations in order for them to disarm and to foster peace. The application of confidence-building measures and maintaining good relations with all countries as a vital factor in the elimination of barriers of mistrust, is a priority matter in Kenya's foreign policy. Confidence-building measures can inject trust and stability into regions of tension, for example, in the Horn of Africa.

The concept of confidence building is to create mutual trust and favourable conditions to enhance world disarmament, peace and security. The enhancement and application of confidence-building measures on the subregional level is, therefore, an integral part of our global disarmament endeavour.

In connection with this, I wish to commend the United Nations Department for Disarmament Affairs under the wise and able guidance of Mr. Yasushi Akashi, for the very valuable work it has done in making people sensitive to the necessity of confidence-building through the organization of regional workshops, seminars and symposiums. The seminars, especially those organized in Arusha and Yaounde, have gone a long way in drawing attention to the importance of promoting confidence-building measures in those regions.

It is Kenya's hope that similar workshops and seminars will be organized in the future in some other regions of Africa, and on this premise Kenya pledges its full support and cooperation towards these noble endeavours.

Kenya firmly supports the idea of establishing zones of peace in various parts of the world. Our commitment to the 1964 Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa is still unchanged. The report of the experts who met at the secretariat of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May 1991, and the adoption of the report by the OAU Meeting of Heads of State in Abuja, Nigeria, in June 1991, have moved us much

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closer to the conclusion of the desired treaty on the denuclearization of our dear continent.

Kenya is quite heartened by the successful conclusion of the work of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean. Considering the establishment of zones of peace in various parts of the world as an essential factor in the wider process of total and complete disarmament, and noting the current unipolarity in global politics, Kenya sincerely hopes that the entire international community will this time support unreservedly the convening of the Conference on the Indian Ocean in Colombo, Sri Lanka, in 1993.

Finally, the maintenance of international peace and security is the backbone and the kingpin of the United Nations Charter. In order to solve world problems, States will need to work together on the basis of equality. No one State can guarantee global security nor can it single-handedly determine the course of political events worldwide. The pursuit of peace and security per se will achieve little unless it encompasses the perceptions, aspirations and debt problems of the poor South.

The attainment of global peace and security is therefore intrinsically interwoven with the solution of the blistering poverty and indebtedness of the developing countries.

Mr. AMAR (Morocco) (interpretation from French): Mr. Chairman, speaking on behalf of the members of the Union of the Arab Maghreb - Morocco, Algeria, Mauritania, Tunisia and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya - I should like to convey to you the sincere congratulations of our delegations on your assumption of the chairmanship of the First Committee. I should like to take this opportunity also to congratulate the other officers of the Committee. We are convinced that, under your leadership, the First Committee will be able to discharge its tasks efficiently and successfully. The delegations of the countries of the Union of the Arab Maghreb would like to assure you of their support and cooperation in the execution of your duties.

The year 1991 has been one of great hopes for the international community. It has been marked by a unique concurrence of promises and perils. The promises are considerable, but the dangers are not fully perceived. The disappearance of the bipolarization related to the cold war has indeed eliminated the factor that had practically immobilized international relations for 40 years. However, the international landscape still contains vast areas of shadow full of potential problems and emerging conflicts.

For years the cold war has cast its shadow on all efforts to restrict weapons and to promote disarmament. The prospects opening up today should allow us to link more closely our collective initiatives in this field to activities for the restoration of peace and the resolution of conflicts.

In this context, there has never been a greater need to ensure that the principles of the United Nations Charter govern the newly emerging international order. Our task is to build a new global framework of security based on international law. In this regard, we can but agree with the view expressed here by Under-Secretary-General Akashi that the international

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community must adopt a multidimensional concept of security. The fundamental interrelationships between democracy, development and disarmament are abundantly clear. It is just as clear that the processes of arms control and disarmament are essential elements in the global process of building up and maintaining world peace and security.

In this connection, we welcome with great satisfaction the important initiatives announced by President Bush on 27 September 1991, designed to bring about quantitative and qualitative reductions in nuclear deployments throughout the world, to strengthen stability and to take advantage of the profound changes in the Soviet Union, and also the equally important reply by President Gorbachev on 12 October. We also welcome the signing of the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe, the agreement reached in Vienna in 1990 on confidence-building and security, and also the joint statement by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and Warsaw Pact countries which have put an end to the cold war once and for all.

However, we can only regret that no fundamental progress has been achieved on the multilateral level, especially in the field of the limitation of nuclear weapons and the prohibition of tests, and that the negotiations at the Conference on Disarmament this year have produced only meagre results. It is time for all of us to take advantage of the favourable evolution of international relations.

In the field of conventional weapons and forces, the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe can be regarded as the most complex regional agreement on arms control ever negotiated. For the first time since the Second World War, the term "military blocs", so often used in a divided Europe, was abandoned. The reduction in forces negotiated by 21 States will

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greatly strengthen stability in Europe and eliminate the capacity to launch surprise attacks and offensive operations on a large scale. The Treaty must be implemented as soon as possible. Furthermore, the significant reduction of national military expenditures goes hand in hand with the emergence of new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe. The resources thus freed, as a result of the adoption of disarmament measures, could serve the goals of development.

To this day the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons has proved an effective instrument for the prevention of nuclear proliferation, thus making a significant contribution to the safeguarding of international peace and security. The signing by South Africa of the agreement on IAEA safeguards and its accession to the non-proliferation Treaty in July last constitute a step towards the reduction of the threat posed by the nuclear programme of that country. We are encouraged by the statements of intent by China and France to adhere to the non-proliferation Treaty. This is a sign that the Treaty is being strengthened and is moving towards universality. We have also noted with satisfaction the statement by the Soviet Union concerning a one-year moratorium on nuclear testing.

The extension of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons should, in our view, be not a mere formality but rather the result of a renewed undertaking to take effective specific measures to put an end to the horizontal and vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons. The regime of nuclear non-proliferation must be strengthened. States not possessing nuclear weapons must have guarantees protecting them against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons, by means of a legal instrument at the international level, until such time as there is a total elimination of nuclear weapons. However,

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international cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy should be improved to enable developing countries to obtain the necessary technology for the promotion and development of nuclear energy for economic and social development.

The establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones is another means of strengthening the system of nuclear non-proliferation. They help to strengthen peace, security and stability in a region by reducing the geographic area in which nuclear weapons can be deployed. They are a measure of nuclear disarmament by which States not possessing nuclear weapons can show in a specific manner their devotion to the goal of the total elimination of weapons of this type.

In supporting the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East, we can only regret that Israel still refuses to sign the non-proliferation Treaty and to submit its nuclear installations to the IAEA safeguards. The Israeli refusal increases the military imbalance in an area already especially affected by political problems. We are still alarmed at the accumulation of weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East, and we can only address an urgent appeal to the international community to find a rapid solution to this problem, so as to transform that region into a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

The risk of the extension of the arms race to outer space is an additional international concern. We attach the greatest importance to the work of the Conference on Disarmament in tackling this problem and we support the idea of greater international cooperation in order to overcome it.

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For the first time the General Assembly has the full text of the preliminary structure of a multilateral convention for the total and effective prohibition of chemical weapons. The objective of the Conference is to reach an agreement on this question in 1992.

A consensus on the scope of the prohibition has been established. This applies in particular to the development, production, acquisition, stockpiling and possession of chemical weapons as well as the transfer and use of such weapons. Agreement has also been reached on the destruction of chemical weapons, as well as on assistance, protection and sanctions.

It would be desirable for the verification regime of the future convention on chemical weapons to be universally acceptable, non-discriminatory and effective.

Transparency in the transfer of weapons is a sine qua non condition for the limitation of the headlong arms race, which threatens international security. Hence, we consider that if strict control to that end is to be established, under United Nations auspices, it must be universal and non-discriminatory and must encompass the production and export of all weapons types and technologies.

An aspect of this problem that is of particular concern is the illicit transfer of weapons. The clandestine nature of this traffic is, in our view, extremely serious for the internal order of States and therefore for regional and even international security, and requires vigilance and the exercise of appropriate controls on the part of the international community.

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There is no need to stress the many links between the two problems, disarmament and development. Demographic pressures, conflicts having to do with natural resources, low agricultural productivity, migrations of refugees, atmospheric pollution, lack of fundamental rights such as health, education and a minimum income are all elements that threaten security as much as weapons and military force do. They are often even related.

There have been three fundamental concerns in the 1990s: stopping the arms race; protecting the environment, and fostering economic development. The reduction in military expenditures and the use of the resources saved to deal with non-military threats to security are the first steps on the long road towards these highly desirable objectives.

Security must not be the privilege of the most powerful; rather, it must be the guarantee for all peoples that they can live in peace and security. It was precisely in order to promote peace, security and regional cooperation that the countries of the Arab Maghreb countries decided to establish the Arab Maghreb Union, whose legal bases and operational structure were laid down in the 1989 Marrakech Treaty. The countries of the Union have expressed their devotion to the principles of globality and the indivisibility of security in the Mediterranean area and have agreed that their actions should be within the framework of the promotion of peace and cooperation throughout the region. They consider that the question of security in the Mediterranean must be viewed in the widest context of international security and that it is closely linked to the security of the region as a whole, and that the Mediterranean countries should benefit from the favourable developments in the field of security and cooperation in Europe. They remain convinced that the advantages that have resulted for each country and for the subregion of the western

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Mediterranean in terms of political stability and economic, social and cultural progress can contribute to transforming the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and cooperation.

The process of integration under way in the Union can contribute to reducing tensions, strengthening goodneighbourliness and expanding economic, social and cultural progress. Indeed, the Maghreb fulfils the conditions for harmonious integration. Geographically, culturally and historically the countries of the Maghreb evince remarkable unity.

Dialogue and cooperation between the two shores of the western Mediterranean should be strengthened because they are a central factor of the complementarity that must function there and an essential key for the advent of a balanced and peaceful future in the Mediterranean region, where today neither leadership nor hegemony can objectively be exercised.

We remain convinced of the extreme importance of the Conference on Disarmament, the only negotiating body in the field of multilateral disarmament within the United Nations system. We consider that the disarmament initiatives, whether they relate to conventional or to nuclear weapons, cannot be the province of two States alone; the participation of the whole international community is indispensable.

In this connection the role of the United Nations remains extremely important. We are convinced that, in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter, our Organization should continue to play its fundamental role in the field of disarmament.

Thus, the General Assembly and its subsidiary bodies must continue to exercise their deliberative function. The First Committee in particular must continue to play its role as the main Committee to deal with disarmament and the related question of international security.

(Mr. Amar, Morocco)

In this spirit we intend, as in the past, to participate fully and actively in the work of the First Committee, in the interest of international peace, security and cooperation.

The meeting rose at 11.50 a.m.